/291 cont./

411 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

[239] B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bădejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Āróre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

53 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[301] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution
[239] (short bands in small letters, long bands in capitals):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y. -b. -y. -b. -y. -B. -y. -b. -y. -b. -y. -B. -r. -b. -r. -B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the
000 loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

/295 cont./

301 614 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round, pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin. [292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 237 614 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows) on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C). The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are [534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and po°ri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 [534] [773] [302] One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry, resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarer /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 appears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and perhaps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms 614 562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Áróre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[text continues on p. 36]

/297 cont./

614 designate the Áróre ꞇębegeᵂŭõ (No. 13 /see Figure 15, p. 6/),
562 Ait'e Aréme, "the women of the ait'e." This is the only case where we have seen a relationship established between the female element of a clan and its emblems (1).

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1. This expression is all the more curious because, as we know, the Bororo think—or say—that a woman who sees a "bull-roarer" will die. The belief is still very much alive.

[764] The first time that we saw "bull-roarers" being made, on the occasion of funeral rites, where this instrument plays a large role, the natives replied to our questions that they were "kitchen utensils." After interminable

[126] negotiations with the chief through the medium of his advisors, it was decided to reveal their true nature to us and to sell us some already-made specimens; but not without having revealed to us the tragic consequences which any imprudence on our part would have. To receive the instruments it was necessary to come to the men's house after dark with all that we had in the way of string, paper, and bags. The packing was done by the natives themselves, and they took care that the packages disappeared immediately into the bottom of our trunks. At the time of our departure, as a native and his wife were to accompany us for several days, the same cautionary remarks were repeated, and they made us promise that we would not open the trunks before Cuiabá.

Plate X

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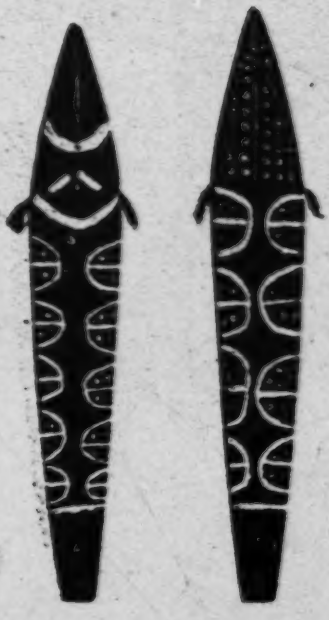

D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

232 **Feathers.**—The *Bororo* practiced tapirage; they plucked out part of the arara plumage, rubbed into the bare spots the sap of some species of tree, and thus produced yellow feathers.

285 323 415 [462] **Basketry and pottery.**—The women make baskets and plain pots. The water vessels, which sometimes have a neck, are characterised by

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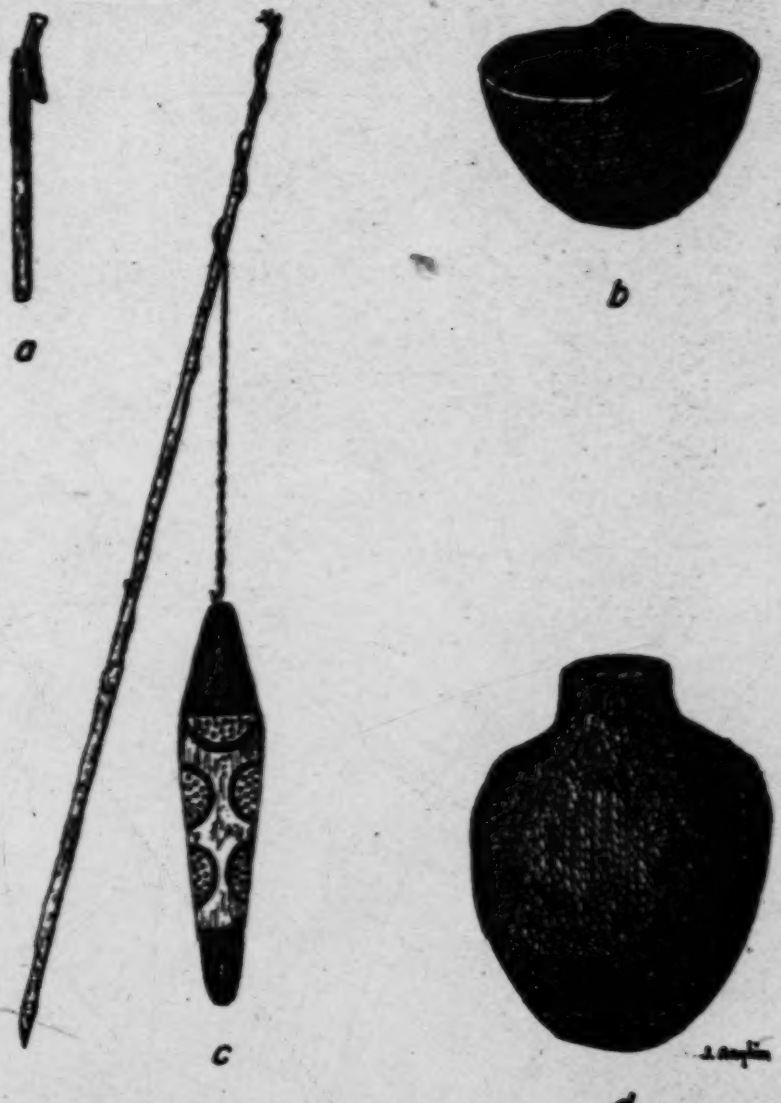

FIGURE 82.—Bororo manufactures. a, Gouge made of hafted rodent tooth; b, d, pottery vessels; c, bull-roarer. (Redrawn from Von den Steinen, 1894.)

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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Puberty.—At puberty a boy is initiated through the receipt of a penis sheath, which frees him from his mother's custody, entitling him to see the bull-roarer (figs. 52, *o*; 55) and to attend rites from which

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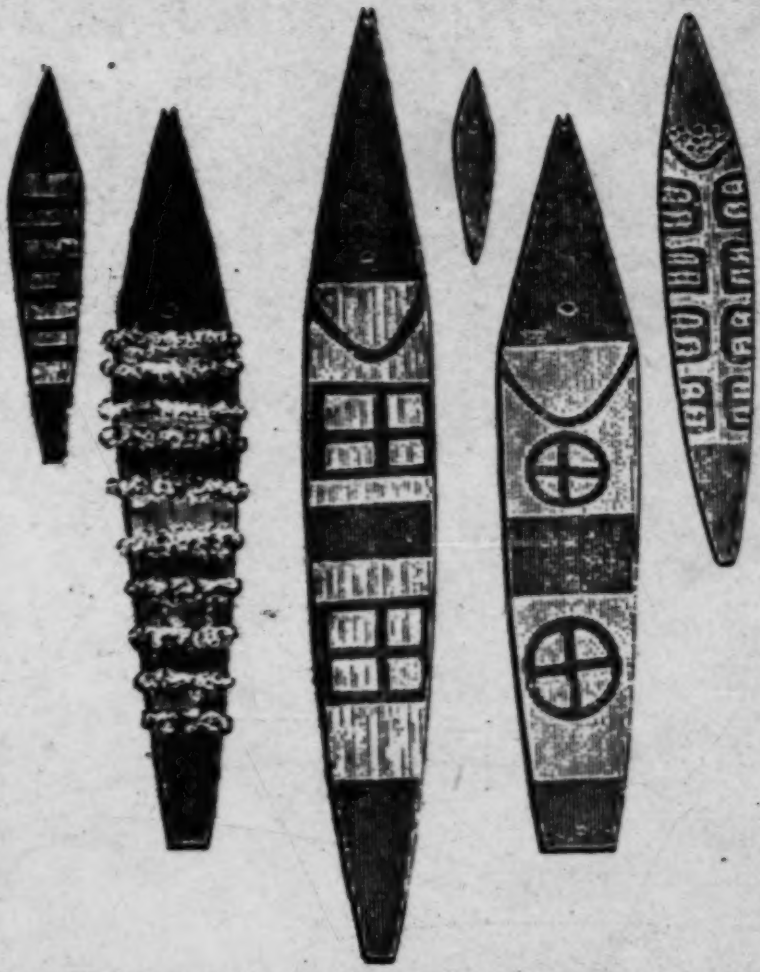

FIGURE 55.—Bull-roarers with various clan designs. (Approximately ⅛ natural size.) (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

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[827]

women are excluded. One chief begins trying on the sheath for the novice, and a sponsor from the moiety complementary to the boy's completes the act. His mother and kin wail at the initiation. He is not permitted to sleep that night, because to do so would be injurious to him.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water.

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design.

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers.

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

534 resonators, as well as "polyglobular" trumpets consisting of three or four gourds joined with wax; stopless flutes; and the bull-roarer. Drums that now occur are suspect of White derivation.

535 [706] Dances.—Among the dances may be mentioned that preceding battle, in which the performers bend their knees in position and periodically shout as a chief shakes the gourd rattle. In the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, the hunter of a slain jaguar plays the part of [224] [782] [237] [825] the beast, being supposedly possessed by its soul; he wears the skin described above (pl. 89), also necklaces of jaguar claws and teeth, and executes furious leaps while the attending women wail. The object of the performance is to appease the spirit of the animal.

272 273 [756] Beverages.—Besides their nut gruel, the *Bororo* drink palm wine: the acuri tree is tapped for its sap, which is allowed to drop into pots or mortars and is quaffed from bamboo vessels. This beverage is drunk by incipient medicine men.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

771 Supernaturalism rests on two systems of belief with distinct and rival functionaries.

776 725 (1) There are evil spirits who are the souls of dead baare (plural of bari; see below) or never were anthropomorphic; they normally dwell in the sky, but are able to visit the earth, where they are known as bope, [821] maeréboe, or waikuru. They cause falling stars and illness, can predict future events, but above all claim the prerogative as to various kinds of [753] [262] food, which unauthorized mortals consume under pain of sickness and death. The bope possesses a bari and eats the dishes in question [756] [787] [773] with the bari's mouth. These spirits also appear in dreams and reveal the future, but they take no interest in the social life of the Indians and do not in any significant way figure in any myth.

771 756 [787] A bari becomes such through visitations of a bope. He must scrupulously observe the rules laid down to him on pain of loss of power and catching an incurable disease. However, the bope may render him invulnerable and give him the power to hunt game in the guise of a [754] jaguar. The bari may inflict disease and death, but also cures and confers other benefits on the tribe. A client will offer him a cigar, 771 756 755 whereupon the shaman calls on the bope, a number of whom led by a spokesman then possess him. In doctoring, the bari smokes the cigar, then the spokesman of the spirits asks why they have been called. One present explains, then the doctor sucks the afflicted parts, expectorating the putative cause, e. g., a beetle, which he scans, an- [562] nouncing his prognosis. Certain feminine diseases, however, he must not attempt treating lest he impair his supernatural powers. Most [262] [778] important of the bari's functions is the "consecration" of the food reserved to the bope—a procedure that ensures to himself the choicest morsels.

gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time. At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

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[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts belong to the younger."[1]

Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most important Bororo musical instruments: ika and pana. Ika, a long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo. The musical instrument of Itubore is pana, a big double calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for rhythm. Usually, when ika plays, the women are not supposed to be present; there is no similar restriction for pana. Ika is always played alone or two ika play alternately in a kind of dialog; pana always accompanies songs. (This arrangement correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is also significant. Ika is elongated and narrow, often with one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo myths and stories). Pana is made of two or more calabashes joined together, and in describing some woman the Bororo often compare her with pana; both of them have pea jaka—the curves of a narrow waist. Ika is also the name for two

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[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.

723 These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black
616 Araroe) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged.
571 The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety of items that could be exchanged:

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Bakororo and his paraphernalia:

imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket, which is worn during the Ke ceremony)

uku ika (a musical instrument)

pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)

baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate the lower lip of a male child in the naming ceremony)

okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)

biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird breast)

enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:

imo irogodu (body painting)

imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is worn during ceremonies)

imo pariko (a headdress)

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Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:

imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)

imo irogodu (body painting)

Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)

Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore.
769 Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it
115 possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
301 seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
533 songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
534 a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
162 tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
553 a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
616 the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
562 thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
764 a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
881 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
616 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his
571 yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
834 penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
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/157 cont./

796 Von den Steinen (o.c., p. 494) says about the Bororo
184 dance of the hide of the ounce, which was still observed recently among the so-called Bororo da Campanha, who belong to the western Bororo, by Vincent M. Petrullo ("Primitive peoples of Matto Grosso. An account of archaeological and ethnological field work at the headwaters of the Paraguay and Xingu Rivers in Matto Grosso, Brazil, during 1931"; The Museum Journal, Vol. XXIII, [562] No. 2, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 120 and seqq.): "The fear of the women was the point of the dance."

562 If it seems that the reason that the men practice
796 intimidating the women by means of certain mysteries is, many times, the intention to hold out against the female sex, an intention which does not at all prove that the men are perfectly convinced of their own superiority, but, on the other hand, also a feeling that disturbs them, not because of themselves, but because of the women, might lead them
764 to such practices. This last motive is found, for example,
562 according to Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 498), in the funeral feasts of the Bororo. He writes concerning this (o.c., p. /158/ 497): "The fundamental idea of all those solemnities is the fear that the dead one would return to take the living. The weaker sex is shyly excluded from the ceremonies that are held for the purpose of protecting themselves against this possibility. The women go to the [534] forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by a certain sonorous instrument (a kind of "berra-boi" /bull-roarer/, in German Schwirrholz), whose particular [761] sound has a warning or frightening meaning. If they were present, they would be exposed to death. Up to here everything is logical and natural. But, there is more: from this custom was formed the belief that the mere sight of this instrument would already constitute danger for the woman: they would die if they saw it."

6:Kosák C-5 (ca.1954) 1983
SPS Bororo SPS

Mr. Kosak, of Brazil's University of Paraná, has visited many of the Brazilian Indian tribes. This report was prepared in collaboration with Dr. Robert L. Carneiro, Assistant Curator of South American Ethnology at The American Museum, and Dr. Gertrude E. Dole, a Lecturer in Anthropology, New York University.

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All the villagers gather

round the corpse and sing funeral songs throughout the night to the accompaniment of the monotonous and rhythmical sound of gourd rattles.

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The next morning, while a few young men are busy digging a temporary grave near the men's house, the kin of the deceased gash themselves as before, leaning over the covered corpse so that the blood will flow onto it. Laceration of the arms, head, breasts, and legs is repeated many times during the subsequent weeks of funerary rituals. As another gesture of mourning, the nearest kin tear out some of their hair, while more remote relatives cut their hair short. Thenceforth, the mourners' hair is left uncut until the mourning period of a year or longer is over.

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When the temporary grave has been dug in the plaza, the body is interred so that it lies less than a foot below the surface of the ground. At frequent intervals, quantities of water are poured on it to hasten decomposition.

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To sustain themselves during the ensuing weeks of exhausting rituals, the Bororo lay in large stores of food. During the early stages of the funerary ceremony the men catch great quantities of fish. A lake near the village supplies them with *jaú*, a huge member of the catfish family, which sometimes attains a weight of 150 pounds and which the Bororo shoot with bows and arrows.

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Smaller fish are taken in rivers by drugging them with timbo, a vegetable poison obtained by crushing certain vines. Timbo stupefies or kills fish, but does not affect the quality of the flesh for human consumption. (The active ingredient in timbo is rotenone, now widely used in this country as an insecticide.) For this operation the men build a weir across a stream. The fish try to escape the poisoned water through a chute in the weir. As they pass through, they are caught in large nets, then dried and smoked over a low fire, furnishing several days' food for the entire community.

[278]

[251]

[p. 41-A]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

None of the fish may be eaten, however, until ritually treated by the shaman, or medicine man. First, he induces a seizure of trembling, during which he is thought to be possessed by *Bope*, a powerful—and sometimes evil—spirit often invoked by the Bororo to help them locate game and fish. Shaking with the power of his spirit helper, the shaman bites into each piece of fish, thus driving out evil spirits and symbolically consecrating the fish to *Bope* in return for his help in catching it. When this act is completed, the shaman passes the fish to his wife, who also bites it. Only then can other members of the society partake of it.

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THE Bororo believe that deaths are also caused by *Bope*. He is identified, in their minds, with the jaguar, and when a death occurs, the Bororo take revenge for their loss by killing a jaguar. This, too, is surrounded with ritual. A few days after a death, the shaman determines where a jaguar can be found by consulting the corpse in its grave. After the corpse has communicated the location of a jaguar, the shaman tells the relatives of the deceased, who then request an outstanding hunter of the opposite moiety to undertake the task of finding and killing the jaguar. To help him in the venture, the bereaved family gives the hunter two presents. The first is a gourd whistle, the sound of which represents the voice of the dead man's soul. The second is a braided cord,

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[p. 42-B]

6:Kozdk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

WOODEN FLUTES, ornamented with bird down and feathers, figure prominently in the ceremonies, as do whistles, and rattles and trumpets made from gourds.

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[p. 43-A]

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

by a teammate, who, as he in turn tires, is relieved by a fresh teammate, and so on. The race is so exhausting that no rituals are held the next day. 526 [764]

When the rituals are again resumed, they continue with undiminished variety and vitality until the repertory of dances is completed. Then, early one morning, about a month after the initial burial, the skeleton of the deceased, now nearly free of flesh, is disinterred. A few men take the bones to a nearby swamp, wash them without ceremony, and carefully remove all the remaining flesh. 765 [535]

After being washed, the skull is set by a small fire to dry. When thoroughly dry, it is put into a basket with the other bones and carried back to the village, escorted by a procession to the accompaniment of cane flutes and gourd trumpets. [534]

As the procession approaches the village, it is met by the nearest female [602]

[p. 46-B]

6:Konfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

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ON the day after the bones have been decorated, some of the men go into the forest to carve and decorate a number of bull-roarers. These are flat, fish-shaped pieces of wood, 3 to 4 feet long and 5 to 8 inches wide, which are whirled in the air by means of a long cord. As the piece of wood rotates it causes the cord to twist, and

[p. 48-B]

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the combined action produces a strange, moaning whir. The rest of that day and all of the following night the bull-roarers are whirled, and their noise is believed to represent the voice of the evil spirit *Bope*. (No woman may see the bull-roarers, for the sight, it is believed, would kill her.) The bones are carried to their final resting

[776]
[562]

[p. 43-C]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

room, the town hall where most public functions occur, and the club where visitors are received and entertained. The baehytu of the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village is about 50 by 30 feet and 18 or 20 feet in height. The ridge-pole rests on three tall posts, and shorter posts support the principals. To the rafters and to the wall posts are tied a few bamboo poles, and upon these are bound, rather sparingly, long palm branches with tongue-like leaves to keep out most of the rain, the wind, and sun. It is entered through an opening at each end, like a hole in a haystack, and within is always damp, gloomy, and foul smelling. The family huts, built of the same material, are mostly like a roof resting on the ground and strongly resemble an old haystack with a hole eaten in each end, though occasionally the hut is raised a little and woven palm-branch tongues form a basket-like wall. Deep gloom reigns within these huts. They are made dark that they may be free from flies, and are dens of rubbish and filth. Stuck into the roof are bows and bundles of arrows, war clubs, fishing gear, and instruments and ornaments not in use at the moment. The occupants of this human lair are sprawled on a palm-leaf rug, with a log of wood four inches in diameter for a pillow, and sleeping, or gnawing an ear of corn, a bit of fish or vegetable, or sitting tailor fashion, making beads, arrows, or other objects, or kneeling by the little fire preparing food. When the filth becomes unbearable or disease is prevalent, they do not trouble to clean house, but simply abandon and burn the old and build a new one on a clean spot. Usually the entire village moves to a new place some distance away.

Two families nearly always occupy one hut, and sometimes three or four, or even five. Each family has its camp-fire, which, however, is very small, since the gathering of firewood costs the women much labor. Just over the fire and about two feet above the ground is a small wooden rack where fish and meat and vegetables are roasted or baked. About five feet above the fire is a second and quite large rack, the family pantry, where perishable food is preserved by the smoke of the fire below. Each family or individual has its mattress or rug of long woven palm leaves, and each one a pillow made by binding a small roll of green banana stalks or a length of wood three or four inches thick.

A day or so after our arrival a child of seven or eight years belonging to one of the leading families died. This gave us an opportunity to witness a strange ceremony.

A loud, deep, prolonged hee-aw, ho-o, ah-ah, was bellowed by a quartette of naked, painted, and feathered savages, squatting

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SPS Bororo SPS

764 (534) slightly in unison with each note, and shaking huge calabash rattles. This was accompanied by the wailing chant of a chorus of women standing just behind the quartette and waving fans to keep away the flies. The snort of two huge flutes, the barking of the calabash trumpets, the lament of the savage mother, her body besmeared with her own blood, kneeling by the corpse of her child, the hairs jerked from her head, half a dozen at a time, by a female crouched behind her, the lamentations of the father, with his hair clipped, as he kneeled on the other side of the body and recited the virtues of the deceased loved one, and the low mournful chant of female relatives or friends as they slashed their legs and arms, or even their entire bodies, with sharpened shells—this was the drama that unfolded itself one beautiful summer morning as we crept into the baehytu of the Ta-Dare-Mano Paro village. The little daughter of a chief had been summoned from her earthly bae to wander with the bope (evil spirits), and the funeral ceremonies were in progress.

When a Bororó dies, his body is wrapped in the palm-leaf rug which has served as his bed and is carried to the baehytu, where the spectacle described above makes night and day hideous until the first sunset after death; then as the sun goes down the chorus becomes hushed, and the bundle of remains, with a nine-foot pole passing through the roll, is carried to the public play-ground just outside the baehytu, and about ten inches of earth heaped over it. 766 Here it rests a week that the flesh may separate from the bones, and each evening at sunset the sorrowing family and friends gather around the little mound, their faces toward the fading light, and murmur a low chant, pleading the virtues of the departed one. Every evening, also, water is thrown on the little mound to hasten decay. The day before the remains are to be resurrected is again a gala time. A bamboo whistle brilliantly decorated with feathers is blown at intervals to summon the bope, while within the baehytu the man who invites the bope to resurrect the body is decorated and fêted. He wears a skirt of palm leaves hanging loosely from a belt, over his shoulders a cloak of the same material descending below the waist, and over his head is a veil of slender palm leaves to prevent his recognition, and his name must not be spoken. On his head, to represent the setting sun, is a pariko, an ornament of brilliant feathers of the makaw and parrot. Thus arrayed, he dances up and down sideways like a crab, while a companion and a rear guard execute similar movements. After a time, accompanied by all the males, they leave the baehytu for the play-ground just beyond the village, all dancing as they go. Here the soul-representa-

nearly every evening just after nightfall. It is the wild man's evening anthem—a grand, pandemoniacal serenade, primitive charivari, or callithumpian band and madman's glee club chorus, reproducing the harsh, strident and fearsome vociferations of the denizens of forest, marsh and stream, and supplemented by pumping artificial thunder through huge trumpets of savage manufacture. I passed three nights in the great hut at a village called the Kogi au Paro, where I saw and heard the *bakororé* at close quarters.

The air was heavily charged with savage odors, while the darkness was intense, slightly broken momentarily by the fitful, lurid flame of the little fire in one corner of the pen where our pot of boiled beef was being fried for the fifth time; so the outline of the group of nude, bronze savages could be discerned only occasionally. But, though there was little that appealed to the sense of sight, the auricular sense was almost overwhelmed by the hurricane of confused, strident noises that swept over us, issuing from this storm-center-like horde, and which sounded more like the cries and roars of a maddened menagerie than the utterances of human beings. One could easily imagine that he was assisting at a general assembly or world's convention of all creation;—that all four-footed beasts, flying fowl and creeping things, and, in brief, "everything that hath breath," had joined in a grand jubilee chorus, or *sängerfest*.

Standing in the center of the big, primitive music hall, and dancing by squatting slightly without lifting the feet, the savage chorus bellowed and roared with a powerful tremulo and a mighty crescendo. They mimicked the bass *onca! onca!* of the jaguar; they barked, howled, yelped and horned in imitation of the wild dogs and foxes; they laughed like hyenas; whistled like the tapir; grunted, scolded and squealed like the wild hogs; bleated like the deer; squeaked like the capibara; twanged a guitar, like the inhahuma; chirped, piped and bellowed in imitation of all the frogs and toads; roared, or howled, hoarsely and stridently, like monkeys singing their morning anthem; honked like the giant crane; chattered and screamed loudly,

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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order to maintain his prestige and reputation. He informs the anxious and waiting family of the number of days their loved one has to live by touching that number of fingers on his uplifted hand, and each time he touches a finger, repeating the word, "*meri, meri, meri, meri, meri, by,*"—sun, sun, sun, sun, sun, die,—meaning that the patient will see five suns—five days—then die. Or, the conjurer may say, "*nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, nodua, by,*"—sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, sleep, die,—meaning that the sick one will sleep, or pass five more nights, then die. If, at the end of this time, he still lives, the executioner, sent of course by the sorcerer, will suddenly enter his hut, sit astride of him on his stomach, and strangle him until he is dead. The grief-stricken family may stand about moaning and crying, but will offer no resistance. 763 755 756 [802]

When a Bororó has been summoned from his earthly *bai*—naturally or otherwise—to wander with the demons in their world of sadness and gloom, whether the event occur at meridian or at midnight, the body is immediately rolled up in the palm-leaf mat which has served as a bed during life, and borne to the great hut where the elaborate funeral ceremonies, or *bakororó*, are at once inaugurated. At the head of the corpse stands a quartette of big, burly and entirely nude savages, of terrible visages, having their bodies besmeared from head to foot with black slush, their heads decorated with large fans of brilliant feathers representing the rising or setting sun, and holding in their hands gourd-shell rattles larger than a quart measure. These lead the medley of uncouth, blood-curdling noises, uttering constantly a loud, deep, prolonged, growling, roaring, bellowing, diabolical moan,—hee-aw-aw-aw-aw-aw-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo-oo ah-ah-ah-ah-ah-ah, squatting slightly with each wail of woe, and shaking the huge rattles held in each hand. Behind these four "children of the sun," stands a group of female savages, who howl and wail, mutter, moan and shriek an accompaniment, meanwhile not forgetting to fan off the flies that light on the bodies of the male quartette in front of them. The remaining inhabitants of the village, except the family of the deceased, group themselves on both sides of the 764 [302] [301] [534]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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764 quartette and chorus, the men usually sitting cross-legged on palm-leaf mats on the ground, and the women standing. The male members of these outer groups are the orchestra, or band, composed of four or more pieces, in the manipulation of which the primitive musicians relieve one another from time to time. These instruments are of two kinds only, and of native manufacture. One kind is a sort of bass flute forty inches long and three inches thick in the outer half. It is made by splitting and hollowing a sapling, then binding the halves together into a rough tube by winding them from end to end with long strips of bark. The upper half of the instrument is but an inch or so in diameter. The second instrument is a sort of trumpet, made by gouging large openings in each end of several oblong calabash shells, five inches in diameter, and gumming them together, end to end, with beeswax. But one note can be produced with each instrument. The flute emits a snorting, snoring sound, the trumpet a barking, roaring, groaning, diapason note.

764 534

On one side of the corpse—which, at the rites I witnessed, was that of a child seven years old—crouched the bereaved father and brothers, who moaned, muttered and lamented continually in low tones. On the opposite side, kneeled the mother, sitting on her heels, her body completely besmeared with blood from having been slashed from head to foot with sharp-edged shells, while behind her crouched another female who, having first rubbed ashes into her scalp, slowly jerked out her hair, consuming five or six hours in the operation. At the same time, the poor, tortured creature wailed and moaned, and uttered lamentations, and jibbered and muttered, reciting the virtues of her beloved child. Meanwhile, female relatives and friends of the stricken family, placing, each in turn, a foot upon the corpse, slashed their legs and arms scores of times, and sometimes their entire bodies, with jagged-edged shells—reminding one of the priests of Baal—and daubed their bodies from head to foot with a black substance, made chiefly from the genipapa fruit, all the while moaning, muttering and chanting. They do not intend to cut themselves more than

764 785

[302]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

[765] [533] [715] —the sun—or to the protection of the great *bopi* who are believed to dwell in the sun, the shade of their dear one, who, being "wicked" and "bad," is doomed to wander forever in the regions of darkness and despair, and to plot evil against men in the flesh. During the week, too, water is occasionally thrown upon the mound to hasten the decay of the corpse. I was told that the savages also churn the mound, but did not see them do this. During the week, also, the family of the deceased crouch frequently in their gloomy abode, and mutter, moan and wail.

A week having elapsed since burial, the time came to disinter the putrefying remains and prepare for the second part of the obsequies with the bones present. The day preceding this event was again a gala day in the city of savagery. During the entire forenoon, a kind of *bakororó* was held in the great hut, but no female of the tribe assisted at these doings. [533] During nearly the entire day, too, the forest in the vicinity of the village reverberated with insane sounds and infernal noises, for groups of savages perambulated the wilds, back and forth, swinging the roarer—which will be described later—which emitted a variety of unearthly shrieks and sepulchral moans. It seemed as if the demons of the pit were out for a holiday and holding a picnic in the woods. [534] Within the great hut, during the afternoon, peculiar whistles, beautifully adorned with feathers, were sounded at intervals to call the *bopi*, while one [715] of the savages was chosen to represent the soul of the de- [292] parted. He was rigged up in a skirt made of long, slender palm-leaves hung to a belt, and a cloak and a veil of the same material, and made in the same way, while his head was adorned with a large fan made of the long, brilliant tail-feathers of the macaw. He was accompanied by two adjutants with big, gourd-shell rattles in their hands, who stood, one behind, the other in front of him. First, the trio danced up and down within the great hut, sidewise, crab-like, with legs [535] rigid. It seems to be a sort of ecstatic or devil-dance, and is continued until the participants appear to have cramps in their legs. During this performance, armed sentries guard the

Brazil.

776 [821] [756] [795] The sun, being the greatest force in nature known to them, is regarded as a sort of supreme being, or as the seat of supreme power. The sorcerers are believed to enjoy a kind of heaven after death, being exalted to an abode in the sun, calling to mind the heaven of the Incas; but the ordinary Bororó is doomed to wander in the lower regions.

789 534 Besides seeking to placate disembodied spirits, or demons, or "lay the ghost," the Bororó also seek to frighten them away from the abodes of the living. To accomplish this, they make use of a peculiar instrument that ethnologists call the *roarer*. The sound producer is a slab of wood about half an inch thick, three to six inches broad, one or two feet long, fish formed, and having black spots painted all over it. This is hung to a long cord which is secured to the end of a ten-foot rod; and to sound it, it is swung round and round over the head horizontally. As this slab swings it revolves rapidly upon its axis and emits a series of blood-curdling sounds that can be heard half a mile or more, varying from a loud, diapason, sepulchral moan to an unearthly shriek. This frightful and prolonged wail rises and falls in pitch according to the rapidity with which the instrument is swung, or according to its size. To hear the music (?) of an orchestra of these instruments, or rather, their awful, demoniacal shrieks and wails, gives one most unusual sensations, the remembrance of which can never be effaced. The uncanny feeling is intensified if heard, as I once heard it, while a tropical storm is raging; for the flashing of the lightnings, the ceaseless peal and roar and crash of the celestial artillery, the falling floods and the thickening gloom, played and displayed a terrible accompaniment to the unearthly music.

534 562 788 No female of the tribe, woman or child, is allowed to look upon this instrument under pain of death. The men appear to make new ones when occasion demands their use, and to burn them immediately after the occasion has passed. I entered the great hut once while they were preparing them for a funeral prelude. Profound silence was maintained, and the savages whispered mysteriously the word *bopi*. Certain

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
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warning calls are given frequently for some hours in advance of the time when the instruments are to be brought into use. Hearing these warnings the females enter their huts, close the openings and hide their heads. The *roarers* are always manipulated outside the village up and down through the bush, and at openings in the forest.

Many other tribes have mystery instruments and practice demon music. Wallace, describing those of some Rio Negro tribes, says that their instruments are pipes, or tubes, like great bassoons or trumpets, and produce sounds somewhat like trombones or clarinets. One kind is made of bamboo or palm-stems, hollowed out, while others are made of bark, twisted spirally and have mouthpieces of leaves. Each instrument produces but one note, but several pairs are played at the same time, each pair being of the same size and emitting the same note. A simple tune is played, revealing unusual taste for savages; and though the music sounds strange and wild, it is somewhat pleasing. The musicians wave the instruments about in a peculiar manner, vertically and sidewise, while playing them, and accompany these movements with corresponding contortions of the body. These instruments are considered a great mystery. No female of the tribe must ever look upon them under pain of death. From the first moment this mystery music is heard, not a female, young or old, is to be seen for all have hidden themselves away in the woods. If a female should see one of these instruments, either accidentally or by design, she would be put to death, usually by poisoning; and a father will not hesitate to become the executioner of his own daughter, or a husband of his wife. Even where there is only a suspicion that the instrument has been seen by forbidden eyes, no mercy is shown.

I experienced difficulty in getting possession of two or three of the *roarers* for my collection. The Bororó were very reluctant to let me have them, fearing that their women might catch sight of them in some way. But they finally brought them to our hut, one at a time, under cover of darkness, after having borrowed blankets from us in which to roll them, and

126 534 562 delivered them to me with a solemn, mysterious air. Even after the instruments were in our possession, these superstitious people manifested great solicitude in having us hide them away in the bottom of a box, and placing the box itself in an inaccessible place.

126 534 777 We also had difficulty in securing the big bass flutes used at the funeral *kuhuvd*. They were not kept hidden from any member of the tribe, yet the savages were loathe to part with them for some superstitious reasons. When I asked a captain to get me a pair, he looked solemn and mysterious, and said by words and signs: "The captain" (myself) "must not take this instrument away with him. It is a very bad instrument; whoever carries it away will never more return." In saying that it was "bad," he meant that it was "bad medicine," that it would bring "bad luck" to the possessor. Perhaps the old pagan was not far wrong after all, for contrary to my expectations, and to my great disappointment, I have not yet been able to return to their villages.

Bororo SP8
SP7 Bacairi
Waura SP18
Mehinacu
Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua

/327 cont./

WY 171 534

two whizzer sticks are 34 and 36 centimeters long; they have the shape of fish, which is suitable for the purpose, since part of the three-meter long rope is wound around the construction at the tail end. We had just as little difficulty obtaining the whizzer sticks as we did concerning the masks. The Nahuquá showed us how they were used on the village plaza in all candor, like any implement and without driving away the women. This is very interesting, since the whizzer stick, which in our civilized countries today is merely a child's toy, had or still has great significance in the religious mysteries among the most diverse peoples of the world. We shall come across it again among the Bororó, and, to be sure, with a mysterious meaning which is absent on the Kulisehu, and shall therefore discuss it more fully there.

BO [171] [534]

The Nahuquá and the Mehinakú have the same word for the whizzer stick, the former calling it matápu, the latter matáhu. Among the Auetó, Kamayurá, and /328/ Trumaí we did not see the implement.

Fig. 121. Whizzer stick. Mehinakú. (1/7 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 122. Whizzer sticks (fish form). Nahuquá. (1/4-1/5 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

/457 cont./

648 his hut and returns with two "espadas"! He waves the sabers around
273 in the air, enraged, and totters from side to side, but contents himself with threats. He takes off first his shirt, then his trousers, /458/ and throws them at poor Eliseo's feet; he turns to the soldiers who are standing idly by and pours out all the insults he knows against the superiors, who are likewise standing idly about. He wants to go away and to go with us because here they refuse him alcohol. Finally he trudges home.

000 30 March, Good Friday. The guard holds his gun pointed downward. The guns of the rest of the soldiers remain on the ground. The soldiers' wives in their freshly ironed Sunday clothing wander to the graveyard with crosses and candles. The prison is opened; two prisoners come out, one of them a tall Negro, his surrão -- the leather bag that takes the place of a knapsack -- on his back and in his hand the coxó, the fiddle of the sertanejo, on which he is happily strumming.

224 The hunters returned heavily laden and brought a quantity of
765 game in their carrying baskets; Coqueiro, the new widower, is still in the military colony. The body of his wife is dug out. The bones were cleaned and brought in a basket to the men's house in the evening; a new basket-bag, into which they are to be transferred at the actual burial service, lies beside them and a pot
[276] with water stands there. The room is dark; only a few embers glow to one side, at which those who smoke light their cigars, Many men, women, children are lying comfortably stretched out on
[533] the floor. A tight semicircle of squatting figures, however, the bari in the middle, surrounds the baskets and the pot; they are singing a monotonous, but loudly resounding song of lament.
[956] The Bari is incessantly swinging the gourd rattle filled with clink-
[534] ing shell fragments, his deep, quivering voice rises above all the others with strong pathos, and he does not stop singing and swinging until his voice and hand fail him; then he falls silent and lets the rattle come to a trembling stop, there is a brief pause during which, in his transport, he hastily puts a cigar to his mouth, and, drawing at it forcibly, he swallows the smoke. Again he sings and rattles and smokes in between, until after a brief hour the

/481 cont./

105 but where they worked only in making their festive ornaments,
171 here girls were forcibly dragged into the men's house, always be-
433 coming the common property of several members, and the regular
511 work on weapons and implements was carried on in the men's
571 house. Among the Bororó, family life was most clearly only an achievement of the older and stronger ones. A living could only be obtained by means of the closed fellowship of the majority of the men, who often had to be absent hunting together for a long time, which would not have been feasible for individuals. This living was meager, and the younger ones had to be satisfied if they themselves had enough to eat; they could not obtain enough to take care of wife and child as well. With peaceful field cultivation, which the woman of the Kulisehu tribes had developed or learned, conditions changed completely; the community of the men, the aróe, faded into the background and could be limited to that for fishing and festive dances. The availability of food was now so abundant and regular that each one had enough for the needs of at least a small family -- he saw to it that the family remained small -- and now that the activity of the woman became the more important achievement, it was, conversely, advantageous for the women to join together for joint work: people lived in families in a large house.

511 Hunting and agriculture. "In the rainy season they are with-
261 out any kind of food for days and days," dias e dias sem nada para comer, Clemente reported. Then they drank a great deal of water mixed with loam to strengthen themselves, but did not
241 eat any loam. They planted only tobacco, cotton, and gourds,
184 and, to be sure, only the upper Bororó living in the source region
[226] of the S. Lourenço along small streams, who were more skillful
[436] fishermen, did this. The lower villages bartered arrows for those vegetable products. Here, therefore, we see that cultivation is begun not with the plants yielding food! Our Bororó now settled
415 in Thereza Christina had not learned to plant anything. Calabashes
[534] and long gourds suitable for storing feathers were in fact not present; smaller gourds were seldom used and chiefly as rattle gourds for the aróe singing or as small blow-gourds. The men

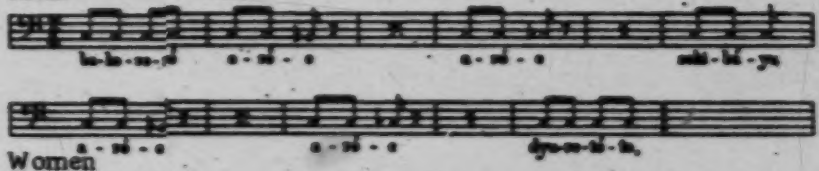
/494 cont./

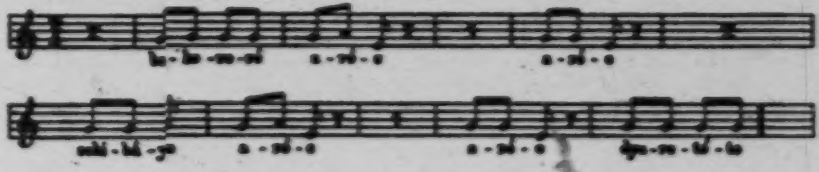
533 diadem) – ehé would be sung; again, however, this did not occur at the ceremony for the dead, but only in connection with hunting.

First song, by the Men.

533 539 Second Song, by the Men and Women.

Men



Women

535 Rohde speaks of a "fararu dance," for which one is adorned with
●[534] feather crowns, bells, and other ornaments. A dance leader, the gourd rattle in each hand, bells made out of deer hoofs on his feet, is in the center of a circle which the men form and which the women surround with a larger circle. They dance rhythmically, leap and rattle for a long time; finally the leading dancer roars hau! and makes a wild final leap which the entire company imitates. Waehneldt saw dances with imitations of animals and calls the howling-monkey dance, with an imitation of all the sounds and movements, particularly extravagant. "In the jaguar-skin dance men and women take part; the latter are never able to see the skin of the jaguar which one man is wearing on his back, who, however, tries to show it to them with his movements at every step." The fear of the women is the point /495/ of the dance.
[198] "The dance, which consisted of their imitating (?) the customs of

/495 cont./

526 suddenly become very serious; the problem is to trip up the other one and thus bring him down. One of them opens the attack by trying to get his heel into the hollow of the knee of the other one and to bend it, but the latter places his tensely straightened leg so far back that the former cannot exert any pressure. Soon the attempts follow one another extremely rapidly on both sides until one falls. He may always take revenge. A small, agile, but ugly and one-eyed man whom we called the clown, but who was called Camões by his Cuyaban baptismal name, was excellent at this sort of entertainment in the ranchão, in that he threw three or four of his tallest fellow-tribesmen, one after the other. /496/ His stronger rivals, and surpassing him in size, used to point him out proudly, but at the same moment had his heel in the hollow of their knees and crashed to the ground.

[411] Shooting with the bow on the open plaza was often practiced. The photographs of Plate 28 /see p. 600/ and Fig. 138 /see p. 606/ were taken in connection with this.

Very popular among old and young was the burika, an invention of the soldiers: a horizontal beam, with short ropes at both ends, which turned in the center on a post; cf. Plate 25 /see p. 552/ where a crowd /Fig. 143 appears here/ of boys is having fun with the game. While one would sit astride on either end and others would run along hanging onto the ropes, the beam was swung around in faster and faster rotation by someone who remained a few moments longer at the post, until the riders were usually hurled to the ground.

524 In Figure 143 /see p. 621/ two kinds of toys are combined: papá, the ball plaited out of maize straw with an arara feather, and tagóra, a whip with a black urubu feather at the end of the string. The boys would swing the feather whip and enjoy the mild excitement of seeing the feather stand upright for a moment upon the ground if the handle of the whip was moved downward with a flick of the wrist. I once saw two boys make a bee and a butterfly flutter on a string.

• 534 765 Musical instruments; whizzer sticks. Only the large rattle gourds up to 20 centimeters long and a small blow-gourd, poári,

/496 cont./

534 965 [202] were to be found in ordinary use. The poari served as a signal horn in hunting; it was a gourd of the shape and size of a large apple, had a round cutout below, and a finger-long, thin little tube set on top, into which a tongue was cut at the side. With small bundles of the hair of the deceased hanging on them, the poaris were to be acquired from the Bororó only with difficulty. The only flute or trumpet that we saw is shown in Fig. 144; it was 1.21 meters long and was blown at the ceremony for the dead and when the bone-baskets were carried back to the house. A drum which was used at the same ceremony in the ranchão did not give the impression /497/ of originality; it was a wooden mortar with a piece of oxhide stretched over it; a couple of sticks of seriba palm wood served as drumsticks.

[524] Fig. 143. Maize ball and feather whip. Bororó. (1/9 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Of greater interest are the whizzer sticks, both on account of the air of mystery connected with them, and on account of the painting, for they represent the only painted implement. I have reported on page 381 how the whizzer sticks are used. Whereas they are used on the Kulisehu only for the jolly masquerades or as a toy, they are put to use on the S. Lourenço only in connection with the

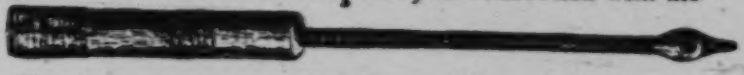


Fig. 144. Death flute. Bororó. (1/11 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

practices of the ceremony for the dead, first of all when the belongings of the dead person are burned and, in a pantomimic dance, it is made clear to the dead, who themselves appear, that nothing

/497 cont./

534 765 belonging to their new associate is being withheld, that in the future they therefore have nothing more to seek in the village, and then later when the bone-basket is disposed of and the deceased leaves the village. The underlying idea of all the ceremonies is the fear that the deceased will return to take away the 534 living. In the ceremonies undertaken to ward off this possibility, 765 the weaker sex is apprehensively excluded. During this time the 562 women run into the forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by the whizzer stick, whose booming noise has a warning or uncanny character by nature. If they were present, they would risk the danger of dying. Up to this point everything 534 is logical and natural. Now, however, something more than is 562 necessary happens; in connection with these practices there has 784 developed a danger for the women at even the mere sight of the whizzer stick. They would die if they saw it.

000 Certainly a reinforcement of an exaggerated nature, but not at all incomprehensible. One finds similar exaggerations among our women in their fear of firearms; a lady whom I know held her ears when I showed her a revolver with an open, empty barrel and, in a state of excitement which refused to see and hear anything, begged that it be taken away because -- quoted strictly historically -- "it happens often enough that those things [828] go off even if they are not loaded." When the whizzer stick is heard among the Bororó on the two occasions mentioned, it corresponds to the loaded revolver; there is danger for both men and women, but the apprehension for the latter is greater because in general in the view of the Indian it is part of a woman's nature that she always weeps, "trembles," when animals, enemies, indeed, even waterfalls threaten, and that she is always in need of protection. Now if even the sight of the whizzer stick is dangerous for the woman, this is still partly the fear of the unloaded revolver, partly also a thoughtless form acquired by her as the result of the practice of generations, which is employed with anxious eagerness without examination. In exactly the same way Wallace observed in the Amazonas region that the women flee when the flutes of the jurupari-demon dance are heard, and he was

/497 cont./

told that they must die /498/ if they see them; moreover, the flutes were handed over to him only under certain conditions.

Of course, if one reads that the same words that were said to me by the Bororó, "the women who see the whizzer stick must die," are said to a traveler by the Australians, if the same whizzer stick played a role among the most diverse peoples of the Old World and the New World in mysteries from which women were excluded, one at first feels strangely moved. Yet it is indeed hard to understand why, for this reason, contacts of a direct or indirect type, but not otherwise demonstrated by anything, should be assumed between the most heterogeneous elements; for one should not regard the device, a board swung in the air on a string, as such a great achievement of human ingenuity that it could have been thought up only once in the history of the world, and one should likewise not find the fear of sickness and death, the attempt to explain these phenomena, the ideas about existence after death, the interpretation of dreams, etc. so peculiar in their correspondences that a people could take over its "medicine" from another. On this path, since the same can be proved for a long list of inventions and customs, one arrives at an ethnographic paradise of mankind -- a path that is probably cut off as far as the whizzer stick is concerned by the lucid article on "the

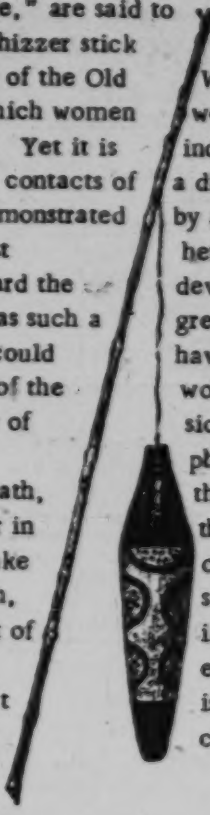


Fig. 145.
Whizzer stick. Bororó.
(1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

[534]
[531]

bullroarer" in Andrew Lang's Custom and Myth (London, 1885). The most diverse tribes, Lang explains, have their mysteries, they needed a signal for summoning the right persons and warning the wrong ones; through their concealing the instrument

/498 cont./

000 from the women, they obtained the double assurance that the in-
534 quisitive sex will show fear and will stay away. Among the
562 Bororó the case is somewhat different; they are concerned about
784 the women. Among other tribes -- each case must be separately
171 investigated, since the striking correspondence could only be external -- it may be a matter of threatening the women with the death penalty, just as the Kulisehu-Indian woman would put herself in such danger to life and limb if she entered the flute house of the men. The statement that "the women would die" may have two very different meanings.

126 Among the Bororó it was almost impossible for us to obtain
534 whizzer sticks. The fear of improper use was only too well
784 founded in view of the attitude of the Brazilians. /499/ Wilhelm was urgently beseeched not to show to the women the whizzer sticks drawn by him. When we offered to buy them, the aídye were hidden. The men themselves, apparently, had a certain amount of fear when we spoke of these devices as of bows and arrows and any other objects of the collection; one of them turned away apprehensively when I mentioned the subject of aídye and clearly indicated that he would rather not hear anything about it; it was closely bound up with the fear of death. We achieved our wish only through three older boys, regular teenagers, who were as avid for small red beads as we were for the whizzer sticks. They carved and painted them out in the forest. Under cover of darkness the first one appeared in our room very mysteriously and demanded that we close the door and the shutters. Then the second one came knocking, and finally, the third one likewise. Each one had a whizzer stick
[688] hidden under a cloth; they whispered that we must carefully conceal them, women and children would die if they caught sight of one; they were particularly insistent that even the men -- the scamp Tobakiu was very much afraid of his father Moguyokuri -- should not find out anything, because they would "brabo" and would beat them unmercifully. We respected this argument and, before their eyes, put the three dangerous sticks in our trunk where it was deepest.

/499 cont./

534 The shape of the whizzer sticks is longish oval, their length 40-42 centimeters. At the string end there is a notch and a short distance from it in the center line of the board a hole so that the string stretched between the hole and the notch has a firm hold: cf. Fig. 145 /see p. 623/.

534 531 Art of drawing. At first here I can continue with the whizzer sticks. On Plate 19 /see p. 268/ we see one drawn with pencil. Just as the corners, which have turned out rather pointed, are filled in with black in the picture, so are the ends of the whizzer sticks painted black; in between, the surface is painted with urucú red and on this red background the design is painted black. For motifs the designs have the two nearest at hand. On the whizzer stick in Figure 145, which was brought by the bari in connection with the death rites for Coqueiro's wife, there are painted semicircles with dots: the cranium with small feathers glued on it in its ornamentation for the bone-basket. On others there appeared articles of the woman's costume, either the bark belt in a wide, black cross-stripe or the bast band in triangles, cf. Fig. 129 /see p. 589/, with the hip cord. The latter motif is on the whizzer stick drawn on Plate 19. On either side is drawn a hip cord with [171] three bast bands. Thus we have there the triangle familiar to us from the uluri of the Kulisehu in the bast band as well, the corresponding imitation of which we should have liked to have obtained from the Trumaí. On one specimen of the whizzer stick, which also shows mother-of-pearl eyes and, in between, a semicircle without dots, there are painted, not only three bark belts as three cross-bands, but also, in the midst of each one, a small circle with a square to the right and left of it. /500/ The meaning is not clear; probably the squares represent the bone-baskets and the circle the skull.

302 The girls in the ranchão had their faces painted with the pictures of the bark belt and the bast band, as well as a part of the whizzer sticks: the same cross-stripe over the forehead and temple, including the eyes and leaving the upper part of the forehead free, and the same triangles on the cheeks, one on either side. This painting, however, page 594, was done with the more cheerful urucú red. One day the men permitted

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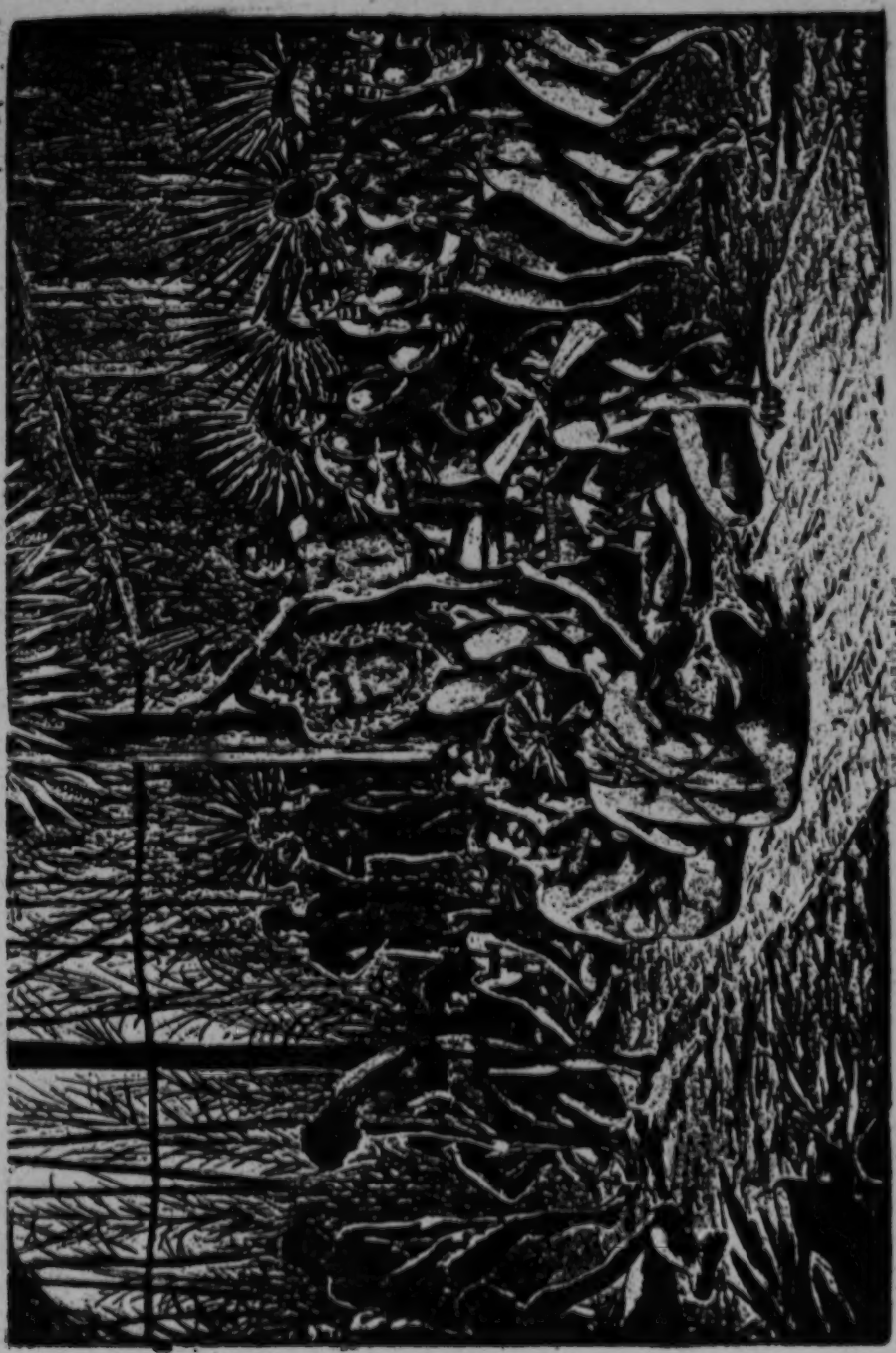

Bororo cemiterio

/506 cont./

765 brush-like and fastened them on the most attractively adorned young man, at the shoulders, where he had black tar spots, on his arms, knees, ankles. This Bororó in the green foliage adornment represented the dead in its present state, buried under a covering of green leaves. Four men stepped up with a basket-bag, brought out clothes of Coqueiro's wife, and hung them on the green one who stood there groaning and rocking with his knees -- a picture of misery, according to our concepts a "poor soul," looking strange in the "overloaded" costume of blue arara feathers, green garlands, and five colored cotton skirts. The others, too, hung skirts on themselves, one man a jaguar
[534] skin; they gave the green one a small gourd flute with little
[535] white feathers pasted on it and performed a dance. A man with two rattle-gourds led the dance, behind him danced the green one, and behind this one the other four, all six sang in chorus and danced, stepping to the right and stepping to the left, first to the ranchão, then turned back, and, dancing, stamped out a circle on the ground. Suddenly they veered off and, in disorder, ran toward the forest where they disappeared.

With the little gourd flute the late deceased called two dead persons who had lain in the earth for a long time. They were supposed to be present when the belongings were surrendered, to receive their new companion, and to be convinced that no one was withholding anything of his which on subsequent disagreeable visits he might demand back from the survivors.

After a quarter of an hour the swarm came storming back with frightful whoops, two of them carried on their backs -- hurrah, the dead ride fast -- two truly ghastly figures, naked, unadorned, plastered from head to foot with wet river loam.
765 With bestial cries the loam-monsters leaped about like wild
768 animals, three whizzer sticks buzzed and whirred through the air
[534] like huge bluebottle flies -- no female creature was to be seen
[562] far and wide, and the huts lay as though uninhabited, closed up with mats -- in the middle of the recently stamped circle a bright fire was lighted with great bustle, a tremendous load of all kinds of household equipment was dragged up, baskets, fire fans,

/509 cont./

765 from the soldiers' huts, but after three or four minutes Moguyokuri's gourd rattled as a signal to continue. All the bones are separately painted with urucú -- successively the thigh, upper arm, lower arm, lower leg, the pelvis split into two parts, the ribs and the bones of the hands and feet down to the last little bone of the toes. For a child there is less work; it is packed in toto. If too much of the oil dripped from the bones, covers and mats were placed underneath; nothing was to be lost. Hands were wiped on the palm branches that had been brought along. All the parts of the skeleton, the small bones of the hands and feet wrapped in separate leaves, were carefully placed in the basket, articles of clothing -- three pairs of trousers (Mrs. Coqueiro!), a woman's jacket, three shirts -- were added, and finally the used palm branches were stuffed into the basket-bag, which was full to bursting. It was sewed shut with foot-long wooden needles; Moguyokuri's powerful fist was required to bring the edges together. The palm branches sticking out at both corners were cut off.

/510/ At 5:15 they were finished; they sang a little longer, but during the final hour it had become uncannily quiet and the proceedings came to an end without any kind of ceremonious conclusion; they simply stopped. Moguyokuri asked for my pipe and chatted contentedly. The ceremony was already for-
• [534] gotten. An old woman took the bone-basket on her back, and a young chap strode ahead of her, blowing the large death flute in melancholy fashion. No one paid any attention to them. Thus the two walked along in the gathering darkness, youth and age -- a mood-invoking little evening scene, as in a fairy tale. With a few moaning sounds they delivered the basket to Coqueiro, who was sitting in his empty hut, and hastily came back to the others. And two hours later on this Easter Sunday the Kayapó /Cayapo/ hullabaloo broke out.

[768] Coqueiro had kept nothing. His friends made bow and arrows and presented them to him. On the third morning after the ceremony he took the bone-basket away, and a woman laden with a like burden strode behind him. For it is the custom that

301 [237] The principal ornaments used by men consisted of beautifully made feather ear pendants (*iwitáta*) about 6 inches long, jaguar-tooth necklaces (*okopó*), necklaces made from human hair (*pecoó*), and cotton arm bands worn above the biceps. A short bamboo lip plug was worn in the lower lip. A crude comb, *putáka*, was made by binding together with human hair four siriva wood spikes about 5 inches in length. During dances the men fastened rattles made from tapir and peccary hoofs to their ankles. Women wore feather ear pendants and "store"-bead necklaces. Some of these ornaments are still worn by the old men. ●534

ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURE

241 The traditional food crops of the Umotina included such plants as bitter manioc (*otuípo*), sweet manioc (*otuípo bikoróno*), maize (*omotáka*), black and red beans (*dumotáka*), sweetpotatoes (*kalarkápo*), and cará (*tapotáku*). In addition, they cultivated gourds (*podri*), cotton (*akyémani*), and urucú (*noddkakíriko*). Tobacco was not [276] grown, as the Umotina did not smoke in the past.

222 The food supply was further augmented by the collection of a wide variety of roots, nuts, and fruits, including the piqui (*koér*), mangaba (*katarákwa*), and the "marmelo" (quince, *kaakarákwa*).

237 Honey (*peéru*), was considered a delicacy and collected particularly before ceremonies.

241 Fields were cleared in the forest, but instead of felling the large trees, the branches were trimmed off in order to let in the sunlight. The undergrowth was beaten down with a wooden sword club (*dadáko*) made from the wood of the siriva palm. In September the dry cut-over was burnt, and with the use of only a digging stick (*tápu*), the planting began. Maize was planted first; three or four seeds were put into a hole about 6 inches deep in order to protect them from birds. Manioc was planted by putting two pieces of stalk into a hole prepared with a digging stick. The field was weeded about a month later, after which the

[p. 106 (c)]

daughter depending upon which relative died, and once every year the ghost returns and enters the body of the person who did the burying and dances in the *arduato*. But if the deceased has no relatives who can offer the gravedigger gifts, then the ghost becomes angry and does harm. He makes people sick, breaks pots, and takes the form of a jaguar or a snake and kills people. Eventually, however, ghosts of this kind die.

Thus the important religious rite of the Umotina is the *arduato*, which is given every year at the beginning of the rainy season. Large quantities of fish, meat, and manioc cake are prepared by the family heads who have ghosts to whom they must make offerings. The ghosts are impersonated by the gravediggers dressed for the occasion. There appears to be four classes of spirits: the *pódopódo* or ghosts of men who have living relatives; the *bakúre* or male ghosts who have no relatives but must be appeased during the *arduato*; and the *akakóno* and the *katóri* who are the female correspondents of the above-mentioned male spirits. The *pódopódo* and *akakóno* dancers wear long mantles made from buriti leaves, which reach from the shoulders to the ground. They wear macaw feather headdresses, glue feathers above their eyes, and pull their hair over their faces and fasten it to their beards. The *bakúre* mantle is the same as that of the *pódopódo* but it is tied around the waist, the dancer wearing a mask made from buriti bark. The *katóri* dancer wears a costume made by suspending a buriti leaf mantle from a large hoop about 3 or 4 feet in diameter. A mask made from a net is placed on top of the hoop. The dancer then gets underneath and holds the hoop with his hands while dancing.

While the dancers are performing at night the women sing and the men play the flutes (*kdto*) and shake gourd rattles. The flute is about 3 feet in length and is made from taquara. It is played from the side like a clarinet.

The givers of the *arduato* are those men who have lost relatives since the *arduato* the year before. These men usually combine in collecting the food and building a temporary house in which the dancers dress for the ceremony. When the ceremony is over the dancers give their mantles to the givers of the feast, who use them for making mats.

[p. 109 (B)]

787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and
[534] offers the ghost chicha. That night the man
will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then
tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a
sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
846 woman eats only manioc products, maize, and
honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided.
These dietary restrictions continue for some
months after the birth of the child. The husband,
however, is free to eat what he wishes.

844 When a woman feels birth pains she goes into
the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-
in-law. Delivery is made in a kneeling position.
The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and
cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being
buried. The midwife then carries the child and
assists the mother back to the village. The
child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are
accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to
pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the
same in appearance as those used by the Nambi-
[553] cuara. The grandparents then give the child a
854 name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information
about using herbal medicines to induce abortion,
nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-
potatoes, broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or
6 years of age.

881 When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301 ear pendants to let the young men know that she
302] has come of age. She is not secluded by her
parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male
relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present
to the young man.

[P. 110 (1)]